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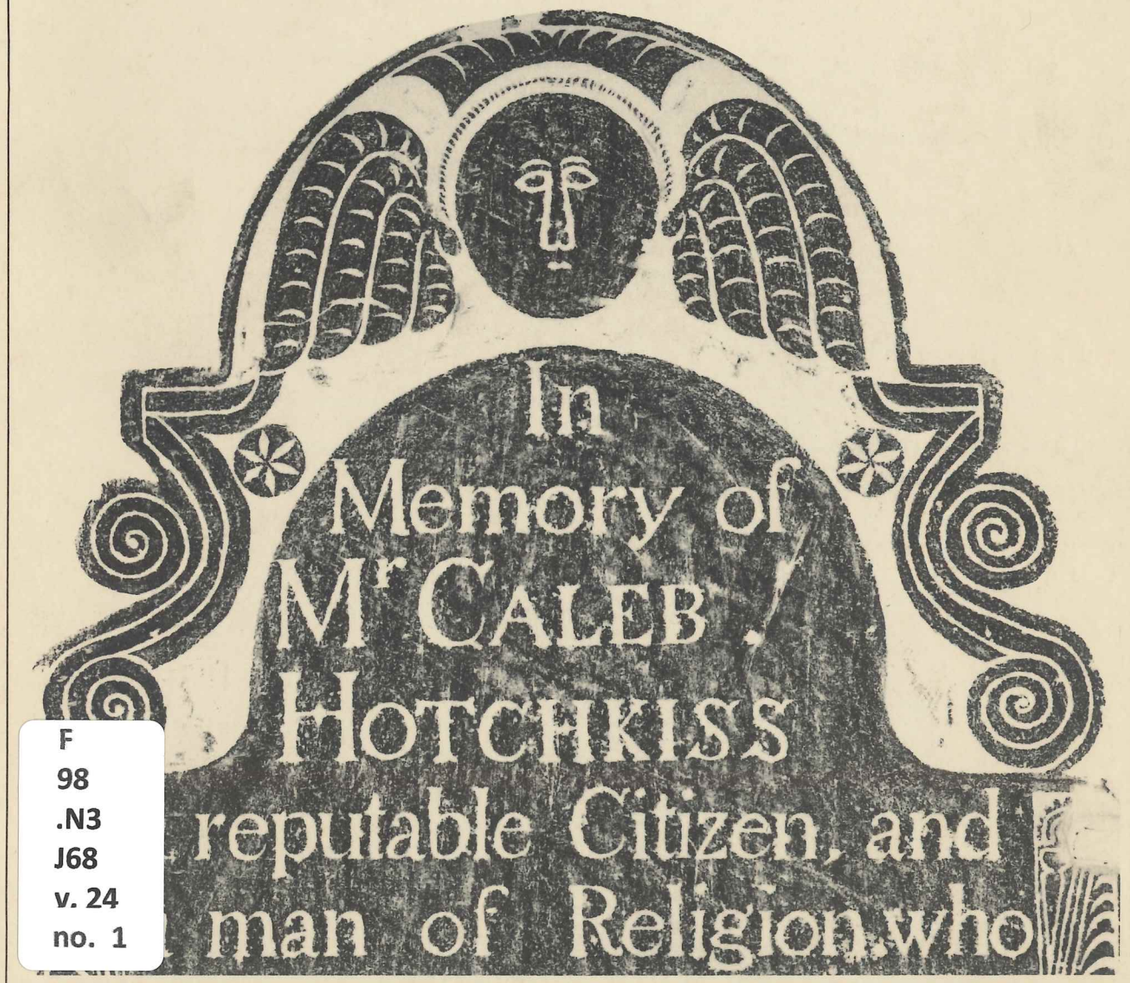


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COVER: Gravestone of Caleb Hotchkiss, 1779, Grove Street Cemetery, New Haven, Connecticut. Thomas Gold, carver.

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THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was founded in 1862 by a representative group of New Haven citizens. As stated in the Constitution adopted by the Society, revised in 1965:

"The object of the Society shall be the collection, preservation and publication of historical and genealogical matter relating to the early settlement and subsequent history, especially of New Haven and its vicinity, and incidentally of other portions of the United States."

The museum and library of the Society are open free of charge to the public. In addition to the Whitney Avenue building the Society owns the Pardee-Morris House at 325 Lighthouse Road, Morris Cove, New Haven. Built originally in 1685, it was burned during the British invasion in 1779. Rebuilt at once, it incorporates surviving portions of the older structure. The Pardee-Morris House is now restored and furnished appropriately and is open free of charge to the public during the summer months.

Example 1. John Watson, 1678, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Unidentified carver.

# SYMBOLS AND CARVERS OF NEW HAVEN GRAVESTONES

## The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

David J. Corrigan

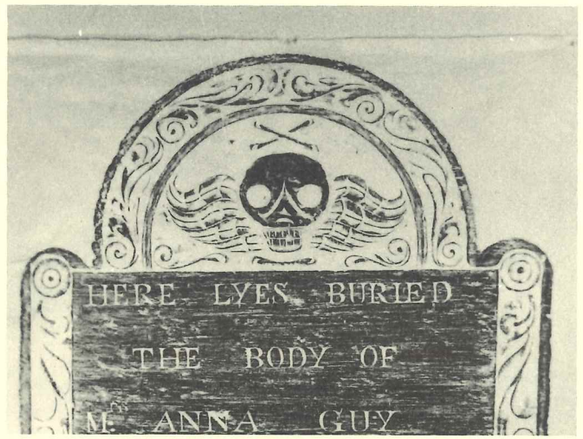
New England gravestone carving of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may be viewed both as an artistic form and as an outward expression of religious conviction. The only form of sculpture in stone to be found during this period, gravestone carving possesses the boldness and immediacy characteristic of other forms of folk art. As a religious expression, the carving reflects the prevailing theological concern with time, human mortality, and resurrection.

Stonecarvers of this period worked with a vocabulary of symbolic motifs which had been developed in the Boston area (see example 1). A winged hourglass often served as a reminder of the flight of time. Skulls, coffins, scythes, and the picks and shovels used in digging a grave were typical representations of the certainty of death. In some cases, these symbols were reinforced by carved inscriptions exhorting the reader to ponder his mortality and the transience of life.[1]

1. The symbolism of New England gravestones was first examined by Harriette M. Forbes in chapter 11 of her *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1927). Allan Ludwig's *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1966) remains the standard scholarly examination of the subject. In Dickran and Ann Tashjian's *Memorials for Children of Change* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1974) symbolism is discussed from the point of view of aesthetics. These references provide a background for the study of symbolism found on New Haven gravestones.

Many gravestones were exported from Boston to other areas of New England, including New Haven. Due, perhaps, to New Haven's provincial outlook and conservative tendencies, neither imported Boston stones nor locally cut stones, some showing a Boston influence, were as elaborately carved as those found in the Boston area (compare examples 2a and 2b).

Example 2a. Walter Hasting, 1699, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Attributed to Joseph Lamson.

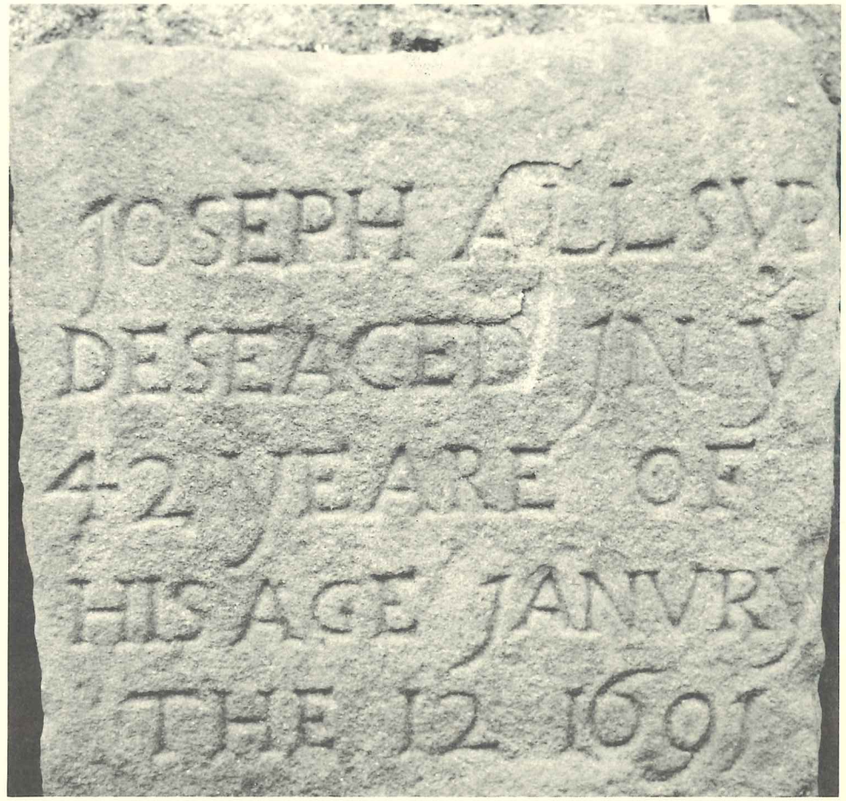



Example 2b. Anna Guy, 1742/3, Branford, Connecticut. Nathaniel or Caleb Lamson.



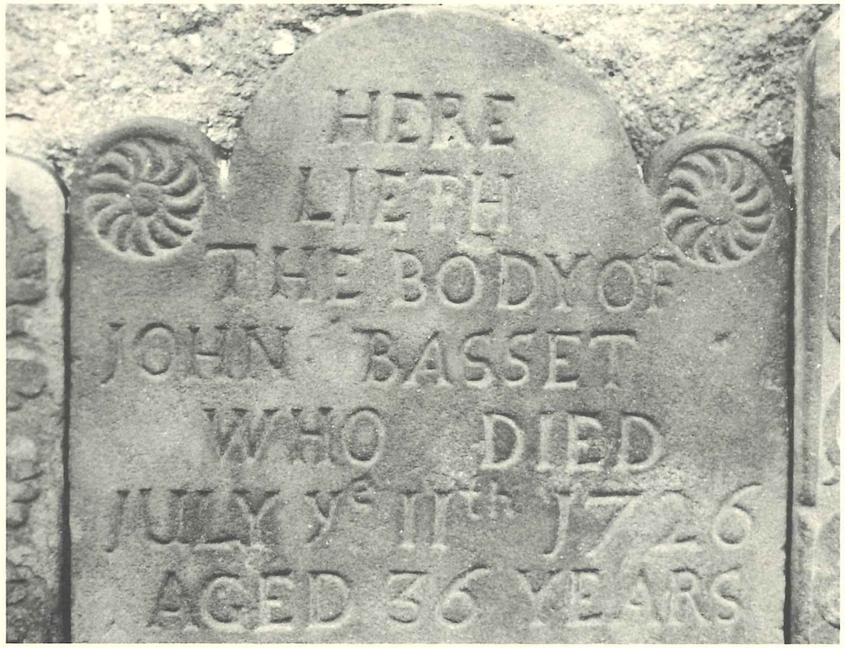
An examination of the symbols found on gravestones in the New Haven area reveals a stylistic progression from simple, unadorned stones dating from the 1600s to highly ornate carvings which had developed by the end of the eighteenth century.

The earliest gravestones in New Haven were merely rough stones, such as the one in example 3, on which were carved the initials or name of the deceased and the dates of birth and death. No symbols were employed, and there was usually no inscription to provide personal information concerning the deceased.




Example 3. Joseph Allsup, 1691, Grove Street Cemetery, New Haven, Connecticut. Unidentified carver.

Symbolism first appeared in the early eighteenth century with the use of the so-called whirl rosettes, which closely resembled pinwheels (see example 4). Although the rosette was a device commonly used as decoration during and after the Tudor period in England, it is uncertain whether its use on gravestones was symbolic or decorative. If symbolic, it may have been an abstract

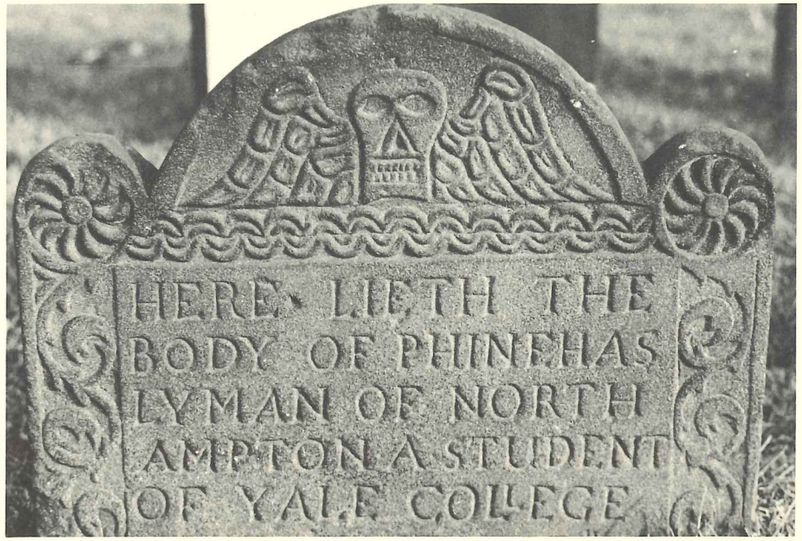



Example 4. John Bassett, 1726, Grove Street Cemetery. Attributed to Thomas Johnson (1690-1761)

representation of the sun, itself a symbol of life.[2] The use of this rosette as the only symbol carved on a gravestone was not widespread, and it is usually found in conjunction with a death's head symbol, as on the Lydia Rosewell stone in the crypt of Center Church (example 5) or the Phinehas Lyman stone (example 6). The winged skull topped by a crown symbolized the victory of death over life.

2. Cf. Ludwig, *Graven Images*, pp. 225-32, 271.

Example 5. Lydia Rosewell, 1731, Center Church Crypt, New Haven, Connecticut. Attributed to Thomas Johnson (1690-1761)




Example 6. Phinehas Lyman, 1725, Grove Street Cemetery. Attributed to Thomas Johnson (1690-1761)

With the lessening of the extreme religious zeal of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the menacing skulls of the death's head gradually evolved into what is termed the soul effigy, a representation (such as the one on the inside cover) of the soul ascending to heaven. The majority of New Haven gravestones dating from 1750 to 1800 contain a soul effigy of one variation or another.

New Haven gravestones dated before 1769 were probably imported from Massachusetts or carved by itinerant stonecutters. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Lamsons of Charlestown, Massachusetts were considered New England's premier stonecarvers.[3] Gravestones carved by this family were shipped from Massachusetts into many parts of New England, including New Haven.

Working primarily around Boston, Joseph Lamson (1658-1722) was one of the first gravestone carvers to incorporate lower-case letters into his inscriptions. The side borders of his stones were usually fruits, vines or scrolls, topped by a rosette, a style closely followed by his sons. The majority of stones carved by Joseph Lamson employed a winged skull, or death's head, often surmounted by an hourglass (as in example 2a).

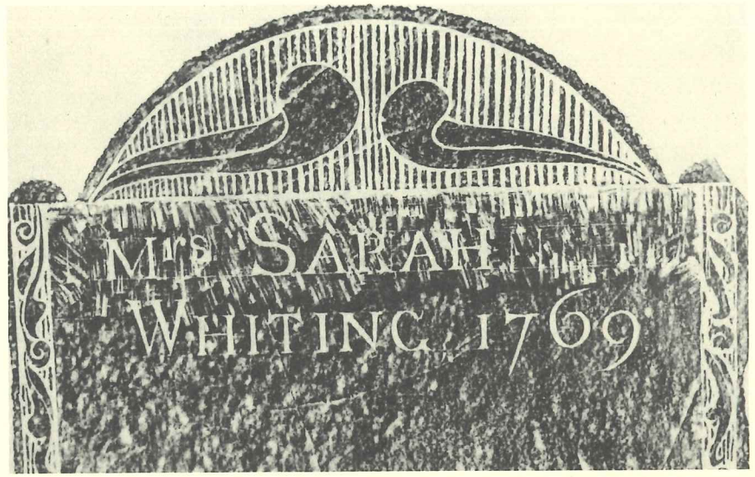
Joseph's sons, Nathaniel and Caleb, also exported gravestones from Boston and occasionally signed their work, either with their full names or with initials. They continued the fruit-and-scroll motif of their father, but added a distinctive stylized leaf design (example 7) which most frequently appears on footstones executed by the pair. In the absence of a signature or initials, this motif is usually sufficient for attribution to the Lamson brothers.

In eighteenth-century Connecticut, the name Johnson was preeminent among gravestone carvers. From 1715 to 1789 there were three generations of Johnsons, all named Thomas, who lived and worked in Middlesex County. The work of all three is to be found in New Haven-area cemeteries.[4]

3. Cf. Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England,* pp. 40-49.

4. Cf. Dr. Ernest Caulfield, "Connecticut Gravestones," V, Connecticut Historical Society *Bulletin,* vol. 21, no. 1, Jan. 1956.



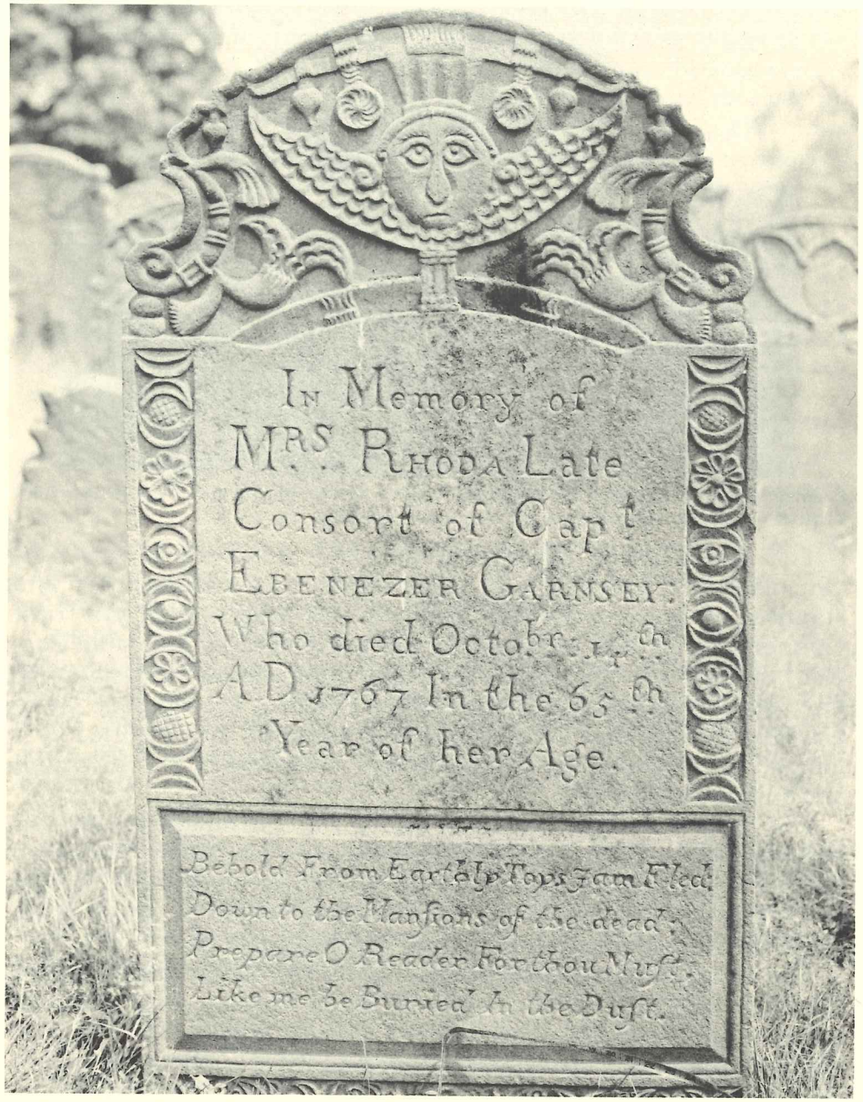



Example 7. Sarah Whiting, 1769, Center Church Crypt. Nathaniel or Caleb Lamson.

The first Thomas Johnson (1690-1761) was born in New Haven, died in Cromwell, and, after 1715, was a stonecutter and supplier of brownstone for building. He was one of the first Connecticut carvers whose style was influenced by imported Boston gravestones. His early stones are quite simple in design, the only decoration being whirl rosettes flanking the epitaph (as in example 4). His later work (such as in example 6) is typified by a winged skull flanked by whirl rosettes, a fig-leaf or scroll border, and precise lettering.

The second Thomas Johnson (1718-74) continued carving letters and borders in much the same fashion as his father. The harsh death's head, however, gradually gave way to a winged soul effigy, often with a hint of a smile. The features softened, and a more three-dimensional image was achieved (example 8).

The distinguishing feature of stones carved by the third Thomas Johnson (1750-89) is the intricate detail surrounding the soul effigy (example 9). His work became a major stylistic influence on many of the young stonecutters learning their trade at the end of the eighteenth century.


In Memory of
Mrs. Rhoda Late
Consort of Capt
Ebenezer Garnsey
Who died Octobr. 14th
AD 1767 In the 65th
Year of her Age.
Behold From Earthly Toys Fam'd
Down to the Mansions of the dead;
Prepare O Reader For thou Must
Like me be Buried In the Dust.

Example 8. Rhoda Garnsey, 1767, Durham, Connecticut. Attributed to Thomas Johnson (1718-1774)

Example 9. Unidentifiable inscription, Grove Street Cemetery. Attributed to Thomas Johnson (1750-1789)

Michael Baldwin (1719-87) was apparently New Haven's first resident stonecarver, moving from Guilford in 1769.[5] Since he was also a blacksmith, it would appear that gravestone carving was not yet profitable as a full-time occupation. Still, his work was popular, judging from the number of New Haven-area gravestones carved in his style. Almost invariably, his carefully carved gravestones contained a soul effigy with a headdress resembling the horns of a ram (example 10). Baldwin's stones are similar, though not identical, to those of another New Haven stonecarver, Thomas Gold. It is possible that Gold learned his trade from Baldwin, gradually

5. New Haven Land Records, vol. 30, p. 74. Little information concerning Michael Baldwin is presently available. Mr. Morris Abbott of Milford, Connecticut, who has investigated the gravestones and stonecarvers of the Milford area, informed me that the estate of Roger Dearing Phipps paid a "Mr. Balden" (Baldwin) £ 2-6-0 for gravestones in 1770. The Phipps headstone is in Grove Street Cemetery. I would also like to thank Mr. Peter Benes of Dublin, New Hampshire for allowing me an opportunity to study parts of Dr. Ernest Caulfield's unpublished material concerning stonecarvers of the New Haven area, including Michael Baldwin. Mr. Benes is currently editing Dr. Caulfield's notes for publication in the Connecticut Historical Society *Bulletin*.

Example 10. Phinehas White, 1769, Grove Street Cemetery. Attributed to Michael Baldwin.

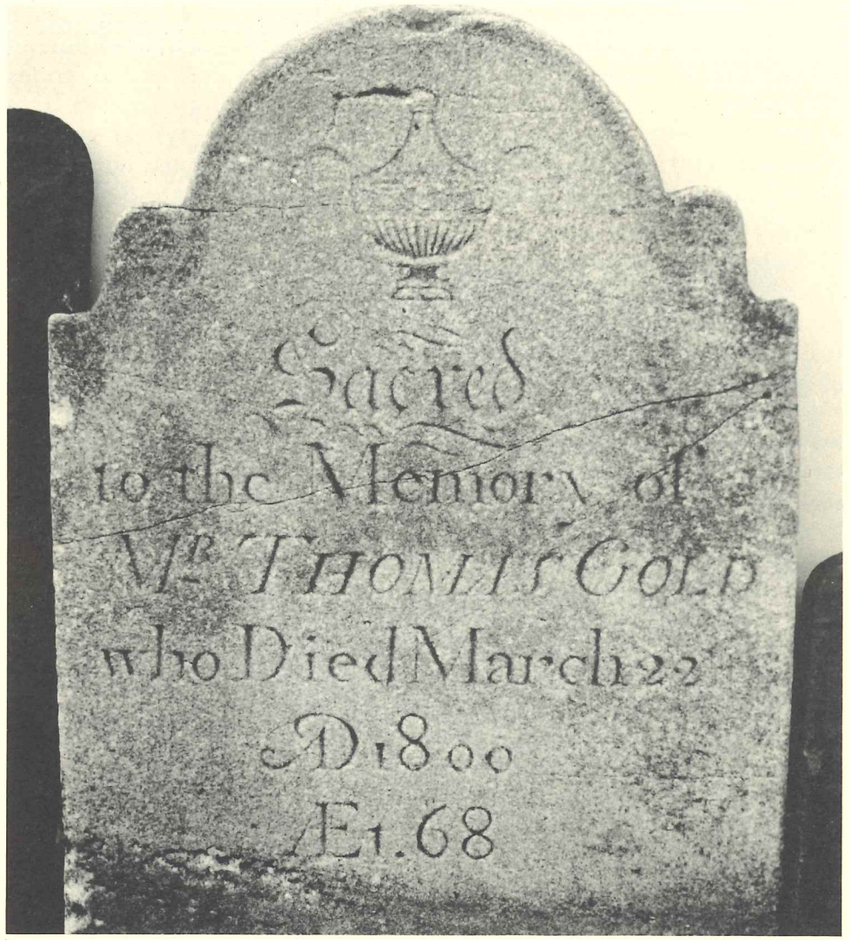
developing his own style. Both men carved soul effigies, but Baldwin's are usually identifiable by the rounded lower section of the nose, which makes it appear that the nose is pierced by a ring. Baldwin's own gravestone, in Grove Street Cemetery, may be attributed to Gold on the basis of stylistic elements.

Thomas Gold, son of the Reverend Hezekiah Gold, was born in Stratford in 1733. In 1755 he married Anna Smith and moved to Redding. His first name appears in the New Haven Land Records in 1774.[6] He seems to have been actively engaged in stonecarving up to the time of his death in 1800, since his inventory lists "grave stones, valued at £ 40, hammers, gimblets [sic] and engraving tools."[7] Gold was interred in the old burying ground on the New Haven Green, but his gravestone (example 11) was removed to the

6. *New Haven Land Records,* vol. 34, p. 508.

7. *New Haven Probate Records,* vol. 21, pp. 132-35.



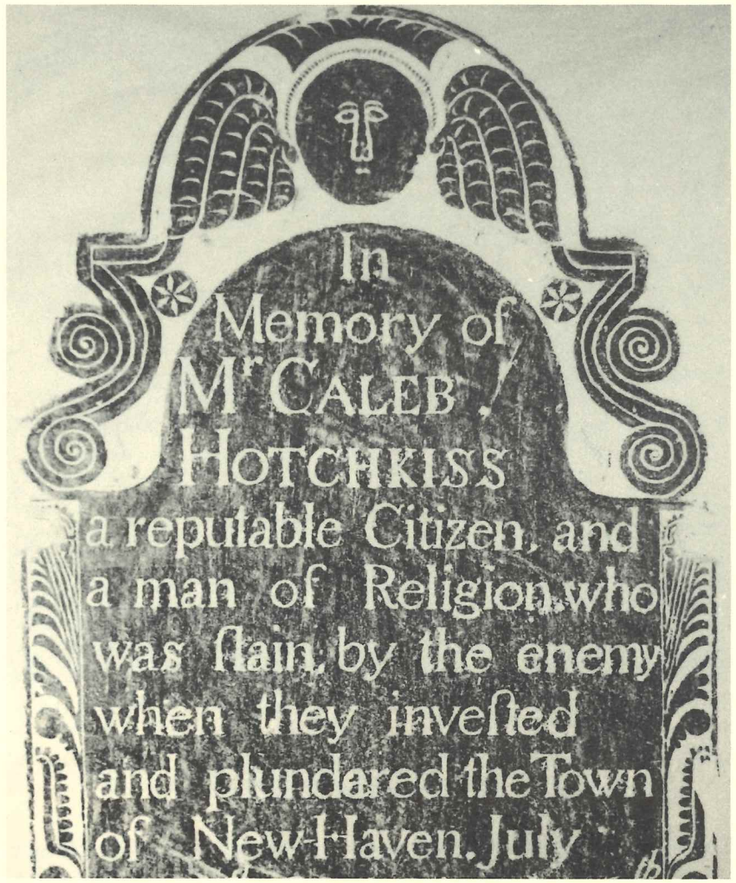



Example 11. Thomas Gold, 1800, Grove Street Cemetery. David Ritter.

Grove Street Cemetery. It bears the inscription "Engraved by D. Ritter" (another New Haven stonecarver).[8]

8. This was discovered when the stone was temporarily removed from Grove Street Cemetery and placed in the New Haven Colony Historical Society's exhibition "Gravestone Carving in the New Haven Colony."

One stone signed by Thomas Gold (example 12) is in the Grove Street Cemetery: that of Caleb Hotchkiss, who was killed during the British invasion of New Haven in 1779. Typical of the stones attributed to Gold, it depicts a winged soul effigy topped by a crown and wig. The side borders contain a highly stylized trailing vine and fruit. Although some variations of design exist within the crowns of Gold's soul effigies, the side borders are almost always identical.




Example 12. Caleb Hotchkiss, 1779, Grove Street Cemetery. Thomas Gold.



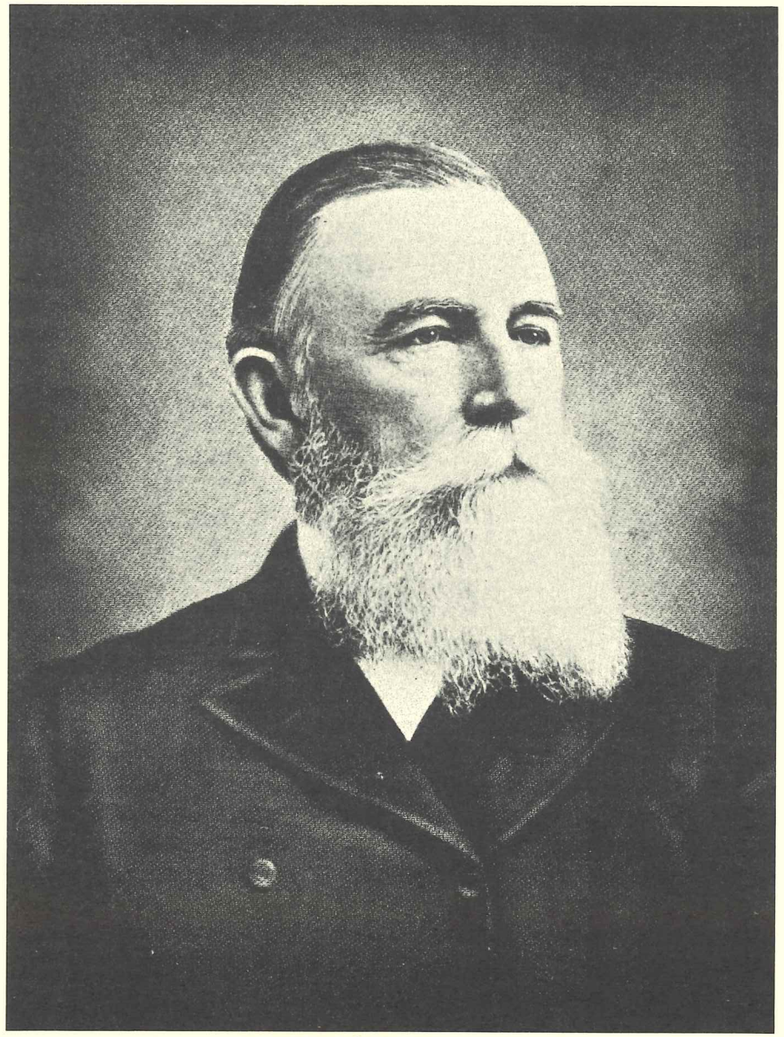
All of Gold's stones are extremely smooth on the face, with carefully lettered epitaphs and inscriptions. He often italicized short verses at the bottom of his stones and also the AD appearing before the dates of the deceased. Many of his stones also contain a six-pointed star, apparently a stylized rosette.

Although he lived in New Haven from 1774 until his death, it is possible that Gold was also an itinerant stonecarver, since stones carved in his style are to be found in virtually every New Haven-area cemetery as well as in Stratford, Cornwall, Redding, Southbury and Woodbury. Gold's style changed hardly at all throughout his career, a fact which might be explained by the large number of stones he was commissioned to carve, leaving him little time for stylistic experimentation. He also may have been reluctant to change an obviously successful formula.

The stonecarvers who produced the gravestones found in New Haven adapted the symbolic vocabulary of the Boston stonecarvers to a less sophisticated, provincial environment.[9] A less elaborate style of carving developed, utilizing a smaller number of symbols. The most common symbols used in New Haven were the death's head and the soul effigy. Originally expressing a pessimistic view of the finality of death, the crowned, winged skull was gradually transformed into a whimsical, cherubic face winging its way to heaven and everlasting life. This process of transformation may be observed in almost every cemetery in the New Haven area. Stones carved by the Johnson family encompass both the beginning and the end of this process, while those of Baldwin and Gold may, to a certain extent, be viewed as variations on the theme established by the Johnsons.

The work of the New Haven stonecarvers deserves recognition as an important local variation within the Connecticut Valley style. Gravestones carved by Baldwin and Gold exist in towns along the Connecticut coastline from Stratford to Madison and inland as far as Woodbury and Southbury. Together with the Johnsons, Baldwin and Gold dominated gravestone carving in southern Connecticut until the advent of the neoclassical style in the late eighteenth century.

9. Ludwig places the New Haven stones within the larger context of the "Connecticut Valley Ornamental Style" of carving *(Graven Images*, pp. 389-409).



Joseph B. Sargent.

# SARGENT COMES TO NEW HAVEN

Jon E. Purmont

The Sargent Company, in mid-nineteenth century, was a well known hardware manufacturer located in New Britain, Connecticut. Joseph B. Sargent, the firm's president, had purchased the assets and business of the Peck and Walter Company in 1857. Sargent's manufactured various types of hardware products for industrial, commercial, and domestic use.[1] These included a wide assortment of hardware items ranging from hooks and bolts to door handles, tongs, andirons, furniture casters, and harness snaps, among many others.[2]

When Joseph Sargent assumed control of the Peck and Walter Company, he achieved a life-long ambition to live in a city and manage his own business. Those hopes had commenced in Leicester, Massachusetts in 1822, when he was born into a local farmer's family. At the age of seventeen, unable to attend college because of his family's financial circumstances, Joseph, accompanied by his father, traveled to Boston. There he obtained a position in the E.F. Newhall dry goods store. In 1842, he left Boston for Griffin, Georgia to assist his eldest brother in operating a country store in that small village. Later, in 1849, he moved with his wife and child to New York City, establishing a brokerage commission house with a brother, George Sargent.[3] It was from that location that Sargent

1. Ziegler Sargent, "A History of the Sargent Company" (unpublished manuscript, Yale University, 1955), p. 9.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

moved to New Britain to take over the Peck and Walter firm.

In New Britain, he found himself in the midst of numerous competitors who did not look kindly on his arrival. Their businesses had declined in the depression following the panic of 1857, and since New Britain had little diversity of industry, the city suffered the consequences of a sustained economic decline.[4] Sargent complained to his son that when business began to expand there was "a scramble for employees, resulting in the stealing of other manufacturers' employees," which created a climate of hostility and bitterness. Despite these obstacles, by 1863 Sargent's operation had increased significantly, necessitating the need for more factory space. However, Sargent was unable to secure nearby real estate to which he might relocate the business.[5]

New Britain was located thirty miles from Long Island Sound, at a distance from navigable rivers, thoroughfares, and railroad lines. It had been part of the town of Berlin but in 1850 separated and established its own government. At that time, the population was approximately three thousand. In 1860, when the first bank was established, the population had grown to more than five thousand and eventually, in 1870, reached nine thousand when a city charter was granted.[6] This steady growth was primarily due to the town's industry, handicapped though it was by shortages of water for power and poor transportation facilities.[7] In fact, it was not until 1865 that a branch line of the railroad was built from Berlin to New Britain, providing direct access to a main railroad outlet. In spite of these disadvantages, New Britain became a center of hardware manufacturing.

New Britain had been a small village with a few blacksmith shops primarily making and repairing simple farmers' tools. But the quality and craftsmanship of these products, combined with the ingenuity of a small number of New Britain families, transformed New Britain into a manufacturing village. The increasing demand for manufactured hardware items was conscientiously

4. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

6. David Camp, *History of New Britain, Connecticut* (New Britain: William Thomson Company, 1889), p. 198.

7. Sargent manuscript, p. 5.



met by individuals or firms which made the articles, while the merchants and tradesmen wisely increased the variety of their goods and anticipated the needs of their customers.[8] Thus, New Britain prospered in the decades of the mid-nineteenth century.

However, Sargent determined to expand his business and discovered available waterfront land in New Haven which was owned by Massena Clark. Dismayed by the gloomy economic prospects for his firm in New Britain, coupled with the realization that New Haven offered many geographic and economic advantages, Sargent purchased the property in early March, 1863.[9]

New Haven, located on Long Island Sound at the confluence of the Mill and Quinnipiac rivers, has been described as ideally situated at the "southern entrance to the central lowland region of Connecticut."[10] There were no natural barriers in the topography of the area, and the pleasantness of the climate and surroundings added to its attractiveness.

The city's prosperity in the midst of the nation's Civil War was due in large measure to its favorable geographic location. The harbor offered an excellent outlet for businesses whose sources of raw materials and markets for finished products were of a regional or national dimension. The abundant water supply from Lake Whitney and Maltby Lakes enabled New Haven to benefit from a city-wide water system for commercial and industrial uses.[11]

The two acres of land Sargent purchased were a vacant site on Water Street between Hamilton and Wallace streets, which included a tract of property across Water Street extending on the harborfront. The land was purchased for $22,210.[12] Unquestionably, Joseph Sargent believed that the choice of waterfront property would be of importance to the firm. First, the wharf facilities, known as Long Wharf, and the steamboat landing near Mill River offered Sargent nearby piers usable for loading and unloading

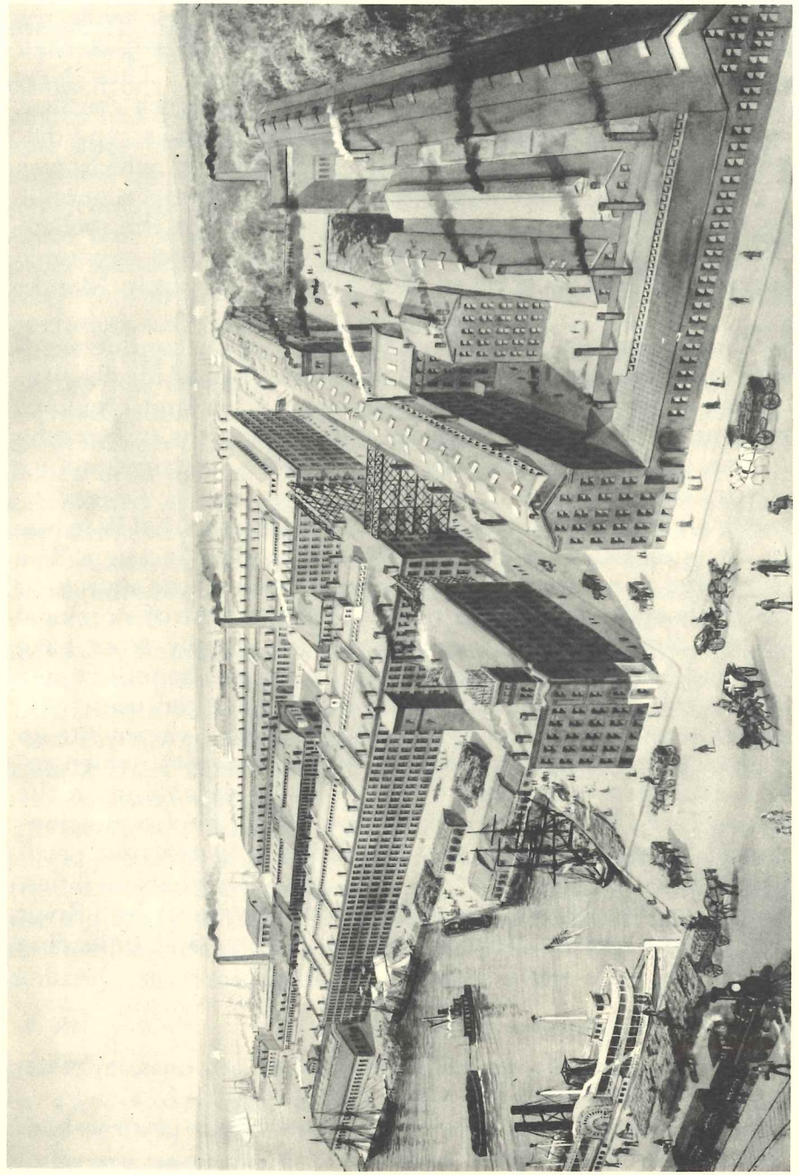
8. Camp, p. 378.

9. New Haven *Daily Palladium,* March 2, 1863, p. 9.

10. W.S. Dakin, *Geography of Connecticut* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1926), p. 70.

11. Rollin G. Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven 1638-1938* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 317.

12. Dakin, p. 70.



The Sargent Factory. From the collection of Sargent & Co.



goods and for access to markets reached by water. In addition, ships that brought in supplies, such as coal, would unload close to the Sargent site, and that would enable Sargent to quickly move that resource, which was used in his operations, to a storage area or warehouse on the site proper. Lastly, access to a water system had an additional advantage for the company. Sargent's used a great deal of water, and available water lines provided the necessary water for use in the plating process of hardware production.

When railroads developed in Connecticut, New Haven was a natural choice as the rail center for southern New England. Its location at the entrance to the central lowlands had made it easy to build roads toward the north and east.[13] By 1860, New Haven was linked directly to New York by the New York and New Haven Railroad; to Hartford by the New Haven and Northampton Railroad; to New London, Providence, and Boston by the New Haven and New London Railroad; and to Boston by the New Haven, Springfield Railroad.

Important, also, was the city's proximity to New York. Only seventy-five miles separated it from the nation's business and financial capital. The cities' closeness to one another provided direct communication and quick movement of goods and gave New Haven access to a widened market area for manufactured products.[14]

Proximity to New York assumed a larger and larger geographic advantage for New Haven manufacturers in the late-nineteenth century. New York's transportation systems, which virtually linked it to the rest of the nation and Europe, gave that city unquestioned supremacy in an important aspect of economic life. Its facilities for rapid distribution of goods by rail and sea opened up routes to a vast, potentially rich market for firms seeking wider markets.

Accessibility to rail facilities obviously affected Sargent's decision to relocate to New Haven. Tracks so close to the Sargent property would provide easier access to the markets while also developing contact with routes to sources of supplies and raw

13. *Ibid.*

14. Edward Kirkland, *Men, Cities, and Transportation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 92.

materials. Since New Haven was the terminus for four railroads and had direct rail connections to New York, it held desirable advantages for a firm with ambitions to expand its business nationwide.[15] The proximity was a notable advantage which J.B. Sargent intended to exploit. One immediate effect would be closer communications and better coordination of business activities with his brokerage house located at 70 Beekman Street in New York City. That commission outlet was owned by Joseph Sargent and his brother George as a separate corporation.[16]

One late-nineteenth-century publication described the city's overall geographic characteristics as being eminently favorable, and mentioned particularly were the topography, soil, drainage, and accessible water power. Those qualities made New Haven "peculiarly eligible for locating manufacturing sites."[17]

In economic terms, New Haven was one of the most important industrial centers in New England during the late-nineteenth century. One of the outstanding characteristics of the local economy was its diversity of manufactures and industrial products.[18] For many years the carriage manufacturing business, the manufacturing of clocks, and the firearms factories were the mainstays of the city's economy. As a result of its manufacturing multiformity, the municipality enjoyed a wide reputation in New England for its ability to withstand serious downturns in the nation's economy. The variety of manufactures provided, therefore, a certain stability to the economy, a stability which offered favorable operating conditions for all segments of the industrial and business community.

Additionally, the presence of varied manufactures created an agreeable climate for the attraction, training, and keeping of laborers. New Haven's large and skilled labor force was a resource that gave the city a decided advantage in securing new businesses.

15. Sargent manuscript, p. 1.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

17. *Leading Businessmen of New Haven County* (Boston: National Publishing Company, 1887), p. 64.

18. *Commerce, Manufacturing, and Resources of New Haven, Connecticut* (Boston: National Publishing Company, 1882), p. 12.



The locale offered ample municipal services for its population of some forty thousand, which created a progressive atmosphere for a city of its size.[19] The modern services included reliable and efficient horsecar transportation throughout various parts of the city. Access to local transportation systems was a major locational consideration in the nineteenth century. In simple terms, establishing the plant on a site that would be convenient for employees to reach was of utmost concern. This difficulty was not as great as it might have been if Sargent had chosen a less centralized location. New Haven was serviced by two horse-drawn railroads whose lines terminated within walking distance of the Sargent property. As a result, access to the site would be relatively easy. In addition, as one recent writer has suggested, with a central plant location, workers would spend less time and effort in traveling to and from their jobs, and they would likely work more productively and contentedly.[20] Therefore, locating the Sargent factory in central New Haven provided a most important advantage for the firm.

Another employee-related problem overcome by the choice of a central site was housing. The solution was the purchase of the Pavilion Hotel, which was bought on March 22, 1864 at a price of $24,000 from Judah Frisbie.[21]

Sargent intended to provide adjacent living accommodations for several families who moved with him from New Britain in the spring of 1864.[22] The hotel was situated in the block east of the Sargent property and eliminated the problem workers often had in finding convenient lodgings. A New Haven newspaper noted this development:

> . . . changes in the internal arrangements of the Pavilion Hotel, which they [Sargent] have recently purchased, [have been made] so that it now affords ample accommodations for thirty families. Partitions have been put in, sewers have been made

19. Ziegler Sargent, "Joseph B. Sargent" (paper presented to the New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Connecticut, October 19, 1953), p. 6.

20. Maurice Fulton, "Plant Location," *Harvard Business Review*, March-April 1955, pp. 40-50.

21. Sargent manuscript, p. 9.

22. Sargent paper, p. 18.

and water introduced, so as to render the former hotel into comfortable residences for their workmen.[23]

New Haven also provided adequately staffed and paid police and fire departments. The city's protective services were highly respected and extremely competent. One indication of the fire department's efficiency and high esteem was the low rate of insurance on property in New Haven.[24]

A further advantage in New Haven's setting which Sargent noted was the existence of better educational opportunity in New Haven. He was well aware of Yale University's presence in the community and also knew about the excellence of the private and public schools in the city. This meant that he would have a resource nearby to which he could turn for college-educated individuals who might eventually be utilized in his business. Secondly, sound elementary and secondary training in New Haven's schools would at least provide potential employees with fundamental skills in reading and mathematics. Therefore, in eventually seeking employees, Sargent could be reasonably certain that those skills would be found among most employees who would be needed for office and clerical tasks.

Knowledge of New Haven's favorable economic climate relieved Sargent of several dilemmas which he had encountered in New Britain. There, as previously mentioned, he met business hostility and distrust among his fellow hardware manufacturers. Additionally, New Britain retained many characteristics of a small community which included suspicion and prejudice against outsiders. Contrasted to that attitude was New Haven's mature and congenial receptivity to new businesses and manufacturing enterprises. The city's leaders were ever mindful of the necessity to seek further business and commerce for the sake of New Haven's future economic well-being. Realizing that, the community welcomed the news that Sargent was to erect a large factory in the city.[25]

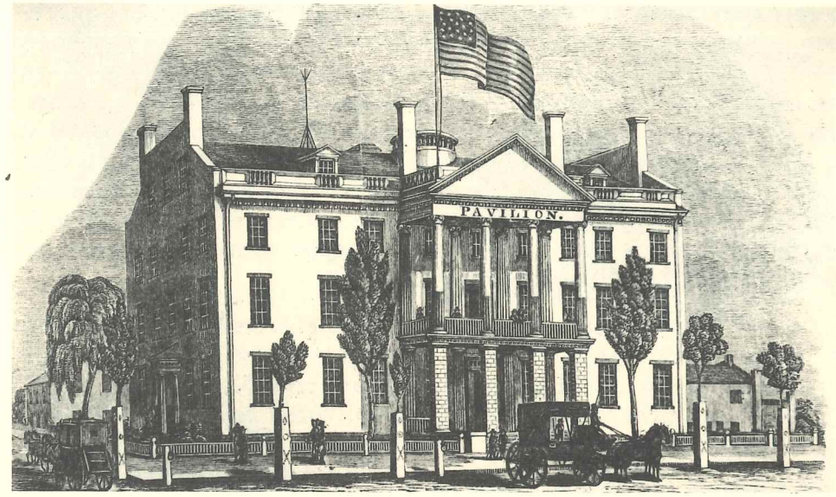
Locating in New Haven, J.B. Sargent believed, would remove an

23. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, June 4, 1864, p. 3.

24. Leonard Yassen, *Plant Location* (New York: American Research Council, 1956), p. 30.

25. Osterweis, p. 352.






The Pavilion Hotel. From the Dana Scrapbooks, volume 56, page 67, New Haven Colony Historical Society.

The Pavilion Hotel. From the Dana Scrapbooks, volume 56, page 67, New Haven Colony Historical Society.

additional burden from his shoulders. Competitive hiring practices among hardware manufacturers, which he had found so widespread in New Britain, would no longer be a problem. New Haven had only one other manufacturer of hardware: the Mallory-Wheeler Company.[26] So Sargent would be free to employ laborers without fear of many competitors' reprisals or of "stealing employees." As a result, Sargent would be in a position to determine the daily salary rates of his workforce without the threats, excesses, and competition he had found in New Britain.

Related to that issue was the question of unions. While several New Haven industries were unionized, the overall impact was not widely felt among manufacturers in the city. The vast growth of labor unions, nationally and locally, was to come in the next few years. Overall, there was little union unrest or trouble in New Haven.[27]

Perhaps the most critical determinant for location of industries in the nineteenth century was a point with the easiest accessibility

26. Sargent paper, p. 15.

27. Osterweis, p. 360.

to transportation facilities which would provide the lowest aggregate transportation costs to the firm.[28] One writer suggested that, "historically rail freight costs . . . exerted a dominant influence on the location of industries."[29] Knowledge of New Haven's advantage in that area of cost competitiveness did not remain unnoticed by Sargent. His property, situated close to the terminus of four railroad lines and several steamship wharves, was an ideal location. It afforded close access to the maximum number of direct routes to key market areas and from major supply sources. Sargent, in speaking about the lower costs said,

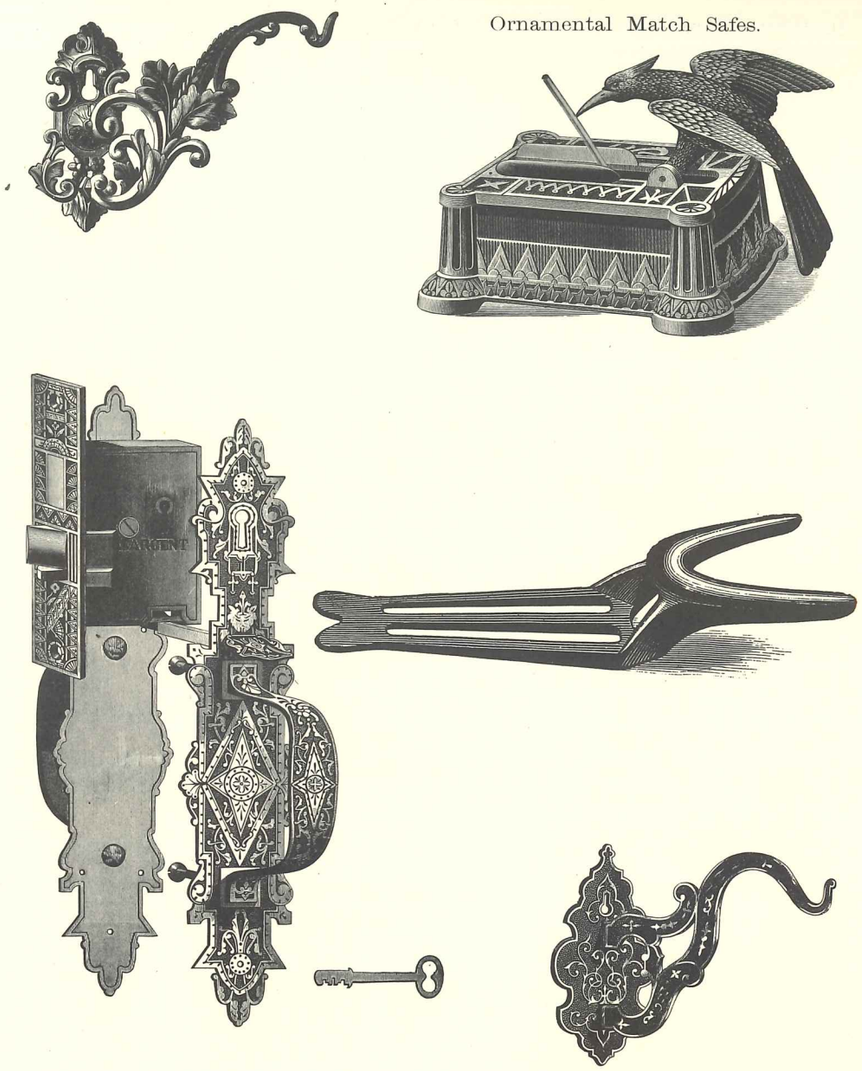
> Costs of shipments to and from New Haven were lower than to and from New Britain. Goods can be shipped from New Haven to Bellows Falls cheaper than from New Britain. Coal, iron, and other materials can be delivered on the New Haven wharf as low as at New York.[30]

Direct access to shipping lines promised dual advantages for the firm: first, a reduction in costs for importing coal, which would be the plant's main fuel resource, and other resources used in hardware manufacturing; second, the company would have direct access to new markets primarily reached by sea. In effect, the proximity to rail and shipping facilities afforded Sargent the opportunity of a competitive advantage in lower transportation costs vis-à-vis competitors. That advantage placed the company in a position of extending the market range beyond the areas previously served from New Britain, giving it a distinct edge over competitors.

A related factor in the aggregate transportation cost structure was the possibility of lower storage and warehouse costs for coal and other materials which would develop as a result of the move in 1864. Sargent believed that he would be able to construct a warehouse on his waterfront property which would effectively reduce that cost factor.[31] In fact, he envisioned building his own docking

28. Yassen, p. 30.
29. Fulton, p. 45.
30. New Haven *Daily Palladium*, June 5, 1864, p. 2.
31. Sargent manuscript, p. 1.






Hardware items selected from *Sargent & Co.'s Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware*, 1884, a large, hardbound volume showing in great detail virtually every piece available.

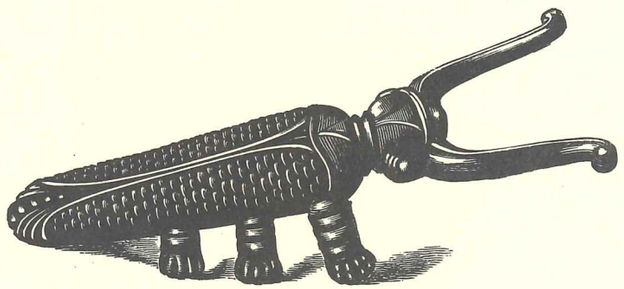
facilities for loading and unloading goods.[32] Those developments would have tremendous impact in bringing about transportation cost reduction.

One of the earliest actions Sargent took after buying the New Haven land was to " . . . contract for a years capacity of all the active brick yards in New Haven."[33] The bricks were to be used for construction of the New Haven plant which was to be literally "erected by the company." Sargent made

> . . . an agreement with an experienced builder, which provided that the latter become a supervisory employee of the company and that his men on the construction work also become company employees. Materials were purchased by the company.[34]

That pattern was repeated continually by J.B. Sargent each time he built a structure on his property. The overall savings with those arrangements apparently justified that procedure.

In essence, New Haven offered significant geographic and economic advantages for plant location in the nineteenth century. Not only did Sargent bring a large and important business to New Haven but New Haven offered Sargent's an urban setting with vast potential for business prosperity and expansion. It was a union of mutual satisfaction.



32. *Ibid.*
33. Sargent paper, p. 6.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 22.



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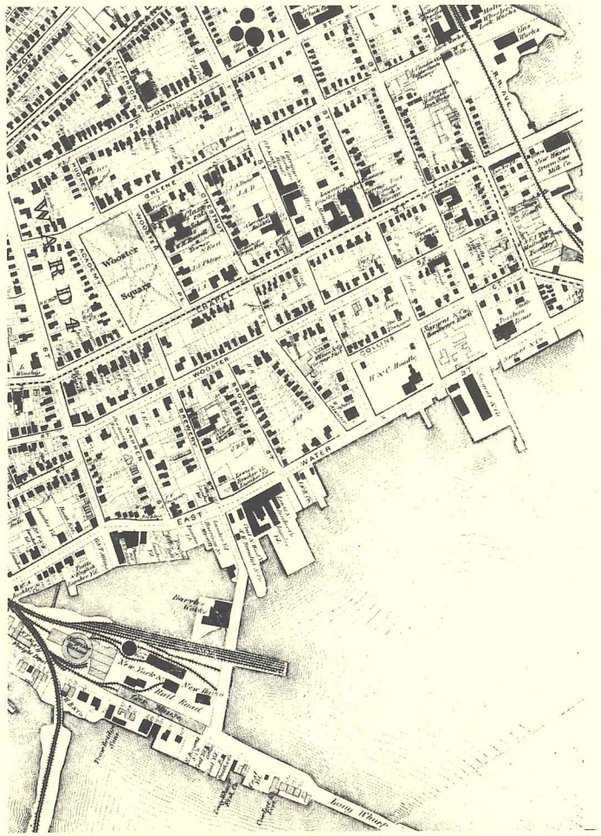


1848 map of New Haven by Frederick W. Beers. Published by Beers, Hellis & Soule, New York. Scale: 400 feet to the inch.



The editor of The Papers of Aaron Burr, a production of The New-York Historical Society, has written requesting "any information concerning letters to or from Aaron Burr or any documents written by Burr. Such materials will be included in a definitive microfilm edition of Burr papers to be published by the New-York Historical Society."

Please write: Mary-Jo Kline
Editor, The Papers of Aaron Burr
New-York Historical Society
170 Central Park West
New York, New York 10024

The New Haven Colony Historical Society
114 Whitney Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06510